ESSAIES,

OR

Rather Imperfect

Offers,

BY ROB. IOHNSON

Gent.

Seene and allowed.

LONDON

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Essay. 1.

OF GREATnes of mind.

GReatenes of Minde is an ornament to vertue, setting it forth in an higher degree of excellency, teaching vs to contemne all these imaginare worldly greatnesses, and confirming vs with a puissant resolution to enter vppon the bravest enterprises: where this aptnesse is wanting, the vertues which specially besitte great fortunes (as depth of wisedome,

height of courage and liberality) are also wanting, and it is as impossible to enlarge a little minde to any of these vertues, as with the puffe of the mouth to force a tall vessell against a strong and deepe streame.

For how can they bee carried to embrace worthy deedes, who so highly prize this interim of life, how can they bee wise, who distracted with vaine feares, doe not settle in this resolution, that all worldly happinesse hath his being onely by opinion: how can they be liberal, whose mindes confined to the world, think of liuing continually?

Contrariwise, where learning hath gotten such a disposition to worke vppon, it is most powerfull, and can plant an opinion against the strongest feare of death. Then a man is easily induced not to esteeme the gistes of Fortune for their specious shew (for that were to admire them) but for their vse, and that is to gouerne them. It teacheth that it is a better thing to giue then to receiue:

Illud enim est superantis, hoc Verò eius qui superatur, the one being the insigne of superioritie, the other the signifying note of subiection, arguing a defect with acknowledgement of a better. And indeede greate minds cannot endure to make shew of a beholdingnes. They loue their own benefites, and it is better by cõmemoration of former fauoures to drawe them to accomplish our desires, then by mentioning those good good turns, which proceeding from vs to them, might in reason binde a granting our petitions: for by so doing they thinke *Destrui fortunam suã*. and interprete it to a diminution of their greatnes, and disabling them of abilitie to requite: and when the benefites are greater then hope of recompence, in lieu of a gratefull acceptance, they are repayed with a most malitious ill will: for there is no worse & more dangerous hatred then the shame and inward guilt of an abused benefite.

With those men the most pre-

vailing manner of intercession is to giue thankes, as in *Traians* time the best Phrase of suting for offices was to shew that hee had beene lately indowed with one: *Optimè magistratus magistratu, honore honos petitur.*

These mindes with a noble despisingnes, ouerpassing small matters, contend for an excesse of estimation reserving and husbanding their prowesse for the greatest employmentes, *Æneas* in the Poet.

—solum densa in caligine Turnũ
Vestigat lustrans: Solum in certamine poscit.

Neyther can I more fitly compare them, then to those noble dogs; which presented to *Alexander* by the king of Albanie, would not stirre at small beastes, but with an ouerflowing of courage contemned to incounter but with Lyons and Elephantes.

They are spare in speech, open in action, euer musing and retired, such as *Scipio* is described by *Cicero*, and

and *Sylla* (by the most cunning searcher of mens minds) *Salust* in whom hee sayeth: there was an incredible height of spirite in concealing his courses. They are neyther proudly conceited in prosperity, nor discouraged with the stormes of aduersity, no way impeachable or subiected to the base dominion of Fortune. Such was *Furius Camillus*, who being alway like himselfe, neyther by attraining the Dictatorship, was enflamed to haughtines, nor by being forbidden his countrie, was strooken into melancholie: and surelie in this vertue the Romains were generally admirable, who neither in their conquering age were puffed vp to insolecy, nor in their crosse & vnlooked for accidentes stooped to dispaire. As in the disaster at Cannæ, (when all the worlde did ring out peales, that their fortunes were dead) they did nothing vnworthy themselues, that might bee a derogation to the auncient dignity of their name: for being driuen to that exigent, that

hauing lost the flower and strength of their nations, they armed their seruantes and aged men to the battell, yet they neuer offered any capitulations for a truce, neyther wold they redeeme their captiues, both which actions imported an inuincible confidence: and afterward in the enterprise of Asia, they proposed before the victorie conditions to *Antiochus*, as if they had ouercome, and after the conquest out of a wonderful moderation, as if they had not vanquished.

But little mindes hauing risen with a prosperous winde, are lifted vppe farre beyond the leuell of their owne discourse: Then they beginne to speake in a commaunding accent to condemne other mens actions, to affect singularitie, to vsurpe vndue authorities, to contrauert in argument without respect, and to perseuere with an vnflexible stubbornes, perswaded that al things becom them, and thus drunken with vaine greatnes, founded vppon no worthines

thineſſe are eaſilie trayned into opinion, that their ſtate was atchieued by their vertue, and that their vertue was worthy of a better ſtate. But when they beginne to taſte any diſfauour, preſently diſcountenanced in themſelues, they are eyther by ſeldome comfortleſſe flatterers, brought to ſome vnreaſonable purpoſe (as *Claudius* blinded with the falſe informatiós of *Pallas* to adopt *Nero*) or elſe hauing no greatnes but outwarde, and ſtanding on no true ground inwardly, are more ready to fall then calamity can depreſſe them, and preſentlie like vile and abiect creatures, not aduenturing to recouer, diſpaire of renuing, and reintegrating their fortunes.

But as the beſt wine becommeth the egreſt vinegar, and what degree of goodneſſe a thing holdeth while it abideth in his nature, the ſame degree of euill it taketh, when it is abuſed: So this greatneſſe of mind, if it be not accompanied with vertue, maketh men daungerouſlie

bad & terrible, producing the same effectes, which it did in *Catiline, Immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiendo*: but being guided by cleareneſſe of iudgement, cauſeth men to bee ſoly earneſt for the publique good, not to bee contentious, ſelf-ſeeking, or any thing reſpecting their peculiar aduantages.

Of Wit.

MEN of ſlowe capacitie, are more apte to ſerue, then to rule, their conceite is ſo tough, that neither the rules of learning, nor precepts of wiſedome, nor habite of vertue can make any impreſſion

preſſion. *Tardis mentibus virtus nõ committitur*, ſayeth *Cicero*. They haue a dulnes enemie to wiſedom, a ſlownes hurtfull to the moments of occaſion, a certaine vnderſtanding alwaye fraught with ſuſpition, the leſſe they perceiue, the more they conceiue, (for the ſelfe-guiltines of their owne defectes makes them willing to appeare curious) rather following chance, then doing any thing vpon free election: they faile in that greatnes of minde, that noblenes in their ends, that reaſon to reſolue, that ſpirite to execute, that feeling of diſgraces, which a man ought to haue.

Some in the choice of Miniſters, elect men of this diſpoſition, *contemptu magis, quam gratia*, who ſtand ſo farre good, as a ſimple voidnes of euill ſerueth them for a groũd of fidelitie: but I cannot ſee how to allow this opinion, ſince wee ought to preferre thoſe which are good, and know why they are good, when againe theſe ſimple wittes are

easily both altered and deceyued.

A Witte too pregnant and sharpe is not good: It is like a rasor whose edge the keener it is, the sooner it is rebated, or like soft wood which is readie to receiue the impression of the Limner, but for warping is vnable to keepe, and therefore not fitte for any worthie portraiture.. Men of this disposition are of a more quicke then sound conceite, hauing store of thoughtes rather stirred the disgested, in all their actions vnstayed and fickle, one while embracing an opinion, as seeming the best, then againe looking more nearelie, and not able to aunswere the doubtes, which are readie to enter an open inuention, fall to a straing kind of vncertaintie: the more thinking, the more not knowing what to thinke, verie irresolue where there is some probabilitie to breede on both sides coniecturall likelihoodes: For a working and craftie witte drawes commonlie with it a doubtfull and wauering iudgement: Such was noted

ted in *Tiberius* ſtirring vp trifling regards to containe him in ſuſpence, rather increaſing new doubts, then giuing any grounde to ſettle an opinion, being the true cauſe, why his ſpeech was commonlie obſcurelie doubtfull, ſubiect to a double interpretation, diſſolued in it ſelfe, and not knit to any conſtant end. Such was *Clement* the ſeuenth, who hauing a pregnant witte, and a deepe knowledge in all the affaires of the worlde, yet comming to pointes of execution, was verie vnfortunatelie irreſolute, readie to reduce the reaſons into diſcourſe, which firſt moued him to any deſeigne.

In Negotiations they deeme that of other mens proceeding, which in their owne caſe they would do, and in this ſecuritie are oftentimes ſo ouerreached by their aduerſarie, that they cannot returne without greate diſaduantage and loſſe: Commonlie they follow rather ſubtle then wiſe counſailes, which for the moſt part doe not ſpeed: they are *prima ſpecie*

specie læta, thinges of apparance, and no substance, rather great and magnificent, then easie and secure, they are *Tractu dura*, and by how much the subtletie is the greater, by so much it is necessarie, that the handling be verie precise, or else they will sort to no end, being like the clocke which most artificiously composed, is sooneſt disordered, and put out of frame, they are *Eventu tristia*, most odious to the world, & so disauoured of God, that they are alway waited on with most vnprosperous ends The same of crafte is alway hatefull, and procureth enemies, and these cunning companions are of opinion that they can dispose the whole world at their pleasure, and I thinke this imperfection hath some similitude with that arrogancie of the Stoikes, which maketh men busie-headed and turbulent, desirous to be set a worke.

Againe, quicke wits are readie in speech, but affected, high-flying Poets, but seldome Graue Orators, com-

commonlie betaking themselues to an humorous kinde of iesting, to play vpon any thing, and stirre the spleene, rather finding causes why a thing should be amisse, then willing to amende.

And therefore wit doth in some respect resemble the Sunne, which so long as his beames wander abroad according to their naturall libertie, doth gently warme the earth, but when they are by a violent vnion assembled in the holow of a burning Glasse, consumeth that which ought to be refreshed: so Witte the lampe of mans little world, indewed with a sensible volubilitie, gouerneth our actions according to our desire: but being armed with vehement & working spirits becommeth the traitor of our blessednes, and therefore griefe is saide to bee the touchstone of the finest wit.

To close vp this discourse, I approue a quiet discourse of reason: It is ordinarilie in a sanguine complexion, which is so tempered with

with a measure of melancholie, that the sodaine motions and enforcements of the blood be allayed. These men are of a statelie presence, sound bodie, long life, readie to inuent, firme of memorie, copious to dilate, silent in tongue, secret of heart, determinate in aduise, regular in proceeding, wise in seeing the best, iust in performing it, temperant in abstaining from the contrarie. They are *actuotiosis simillimi* they dispatch their buisines with such moderation.

Such a wit will euen in the execution perceiue, and vpon present occasion determine, and take counsell, as fencers do in the listes, whom the countenance of the aduersarie, the bending of his bodie, the mouing of his handes doth admonish, how to proportion the distance, how to offend where is lest warde, how to defend where is strongest assault,

Of

Essay. 3.

Of Education.

EDucation is a good and continuall manuring of the mind, the principall foundation of all humain happineſſe, and as the ſoule is the formall cauſe of our life: ſo this is the efficient of a good life, giuing light to the vnderſtanding to know Good, and make difference from the contrarie: confinement to the will ſoly to performe it, reſtraint to the growing affections, gouernment in actions, ablenes to the bodie, without which, men are burdens and eye ſores to the common weale, nothing but

but a number. *Et fruges consumere nati.*

Honest companie is like an wholesome aire, a man may profite much euen by the chanceable enterview of a good man, and hee that applieth himselfe to the conuersation of the wicked, is subiected to the cõtagion of their vices: but especially it is a thing of great consequence in young mindes, which are pliable & apt to be seasoned, eyther with vertuous or wicked resolutions, and to receiue the impression of any customs which their first companie (a warrant for common errors) shall by the silent perswasions of their proper actions impose vpon them.

This is the reason why the qualities of the mind do commonlie run on a blood, & become hereditarie, insomuch that some families retaine proper customs naturalized in them. As in *Rome* the *Pisoes* were frugall: the *Metelli* religious: the *Appii* ambitious, the *Manlii* austere, the *Lelii* wise, the *Publicola* courteous, which

qualities

qualities, proceeded not from the difference in tempera ure, (for that doth varie by interchangeable mariages) but of the diuerſities of breed, which I may properlie call a ſecond, and better nature.

In reſtrayning the humors which may feede vices in youth, it is not good to aggrauate ſmal errors with termes of affected indignation: for it is a daungerous thing to vſe a medicine ſtronger then the nature of the diſeaſe & complexion of the patient. The beſt courſe and of moſt efficacy in diſpoſing generous minds is with reprehenſions to mixe prayſes: imitating wiſe commaunders, who ſeeing their ſouldiers diſmayed do not vpbraid them with the name of cowardice, but by recording their honourable ſeruices, enflame them to imitate and ſurpaſſe themſelues. The forme is in the Poet: O *Achilles* where is that valour which hath filed the world with your fame? doubtles you forget your ſelfe in ouerthrowing all the excellent things

you haue done, and distaining them with so shamefull a retirednes. Thus hauing awaked him out of his sleepe of idlenes, he telleth him, *Tibi se periturа reseruant Pergama*, and so maketh demonstration how he may honorablie redeeme the alreadie conceiued infamies.

For as euill eyes, although they they can see there is a Sunne, yet through weakenes cannot delight in the Sunne: so a mind ouerweighed with the violence of passions, hardly admitteth that freenesse of speech, which reason might warrant, but requireth such a Phisition, who can letblood in the right veine, and then againe binde vp the wounde. Such corrections are smoothlie couered with an vnexpected prayse, and the memory of their former vertues toucheth the mind with a noble and feeling shame of the present fault.

Againe, it is better to entreate by perswasions, then enforce by cõmaundementes, for feare and seruile restraint (the instruments to compulsion)

pulsion) exasperate free spirites, making them who would bee ouerweighed with the sweete violence of reasonable wordes, to cast awaye shame and perseuere in faultes. Euery man desireth to haue this commendation added to his actions, that they are naturall, and not affected eyther for feare of punishment, or hope of rewarde. Hee gouerneth better, who suffereth men to bee good, then hee that maketh men good: but aboue all I approue that moderation in parents, which shall seeme rather to haue found then rēdred their children dutifull.

Fathers must loue their children with that affection that they ought: but let them perceiue as little, as the gentlenes of their nature will beare, neyther too lauishly giuing them the reines: nor too carefully grieuing them for want of well ruled liberty. And although the best rules beto inure them to labour, to acquaint thē with simple dyet, so that by custome all miserable actions may be natural:

yet if there bee not a moderation vsed, young mindes will be presently discountenanced, and great spirites embased with no smal empairement of their worth: for little mindes, though neuer so full of vertue, can be but a little vertuous.

Essay. 4.

Of Exercise.

THe exercise ought to bee such, which may occupie euerie parte of the bodie, as the play at the ball, neuer sufficiently commended by *Galen*: or hunting, by which men are accustomed to contraries, to heates, to coldes, to watchinges, to fastings, to water, to beere, to wine.

To commende hunting I neede not, onelie I will say, that it maketh men laborious, labor begetteth

good cuſtomes, good cuſtomes are the rootes of good lawes, lawes founded vppon ſuch groundes, the producers of militarie prowes, and that where theſe three concurre in any degree of excellency, they cannot but make a ſtrong & puiſſant common weale. But aboue all other recreations it confirmeth the bodie in abilitie both of doing and ſuffering, & acquainteth the mind by degrees with daunger: ſo that I may ſay as *Cicero* did of Fencing: that it is, *Fortiſſima aduerſus mortem, & dolorem diſciplina*: For in that, it reſembleth perill, it maketh vs familiar with perill, (cuſtom diminiſhing the terror of thoſe thinges, which by nature are indeed fearefull,) and ſo by little and little reſolueth vs againſt any dauntings, which the imminency of daunger might draw with it. So *Marius* before hee would bring out his ſouldiers to fight with the *Cimbres*, ſet them vppon the trenches to acquaint themſelues with the terrible aſpect, and immane bodies of

those Sauages: and by this counsel brought to passe, that now they began to contemne those which at the first sight they amasedly feared.

His artibus futuri duces imbuebantur, sayeth *Plinie*: for by these sportes images of battailes were deliuered to the memorie, which afterwarde abler iudgement might dispence: wherupon the ancient Worthies, and *Heroes* which ranged the whole world to their obeysance, are reported to haue beene bred in the woodes, and employed in continuall huntinges: by which they did not onely strengthen their body, resolue their mindes, but also being ridden in all Groundes became good discouerers (a qualitie very mainelie required in a conductor): for a man hauing perfectly beaten one place, may sooner attaine to know the scituation of another, because all regions do somewhat resemble one another in proportion, and so bycomparing one known, a man may compendiously enforme himselfe of manie vnknown.

Of

Essay. 5.

Of Learning.

ALthough Learning haue a priuate and pleasing end in it self, as being the harbor where the free & vntroubled consideration hath a delightfull repose from the Sea of more vnquiet thoughts, yet it is but a seruing qualitie, preparing the minde to a nobler end of well doing, which (as the proud inconstat Stoikes held) dooth not consist in refrayning or ceasing, but in working and performing, and is not a defect or not doing of thinges, but an effect or doing of thinges.

For knowledge teacheth not her own vse, but as a necessary mean inableth vs for good actions, and it

ought to be measured by vertue, & if loued for any thing, it must bee, because it enformeth to do vertuously. It is an excellēt cōmendatiō, that Plinie attributeth to Traiā: *Præstat quecunq; præcipiūt tantūq; eas* (literas) *diligit, quantū ab illis probaris.* We must vse the preceptes of Learning as the Lawes of our behauiour, accounting of them in no other proportion, then as the waiting Ministers, by whose mediation a more easie accesse is prepared to wisedome: we must remember, that the glorie and increase of knowledge consists in the exercising goodnes: that these maiden muses do not aunswere the hope of men, except they bee ioyned to that masculine and actiue power of the minde, which maketh vs performe good thinges and great thinges.

So when *Rome* was in her flourishing age, and began to terrefie all Countries with the fame of her expected greatnes, euen at that time, *Ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat*, there was none who freed his minde

to

to take repaſt on theſe ſo diuine ſciences, but hee remembred that hee had a bodie with fitte organs to inure their beheſts, and that he ſhould be a forgetfull receiuer of his countries benefits, except he in ſome ſort made recompence by imploying his powers for her aduauncement and good.

Too much to retire to theſe ſtudies doth not accorde with ſtate or grauitie: but by ſeparating a man from more worthie deuoires, bringeth him into contempt: It is an happie thing to keepe a meane of wiſedome, leaſt while wee thinke too much of doing, wee leaue vndone the effecte of thinking: but eſpeciallie we muſt eſchew with too vehement feruencie to embrace this glorious profeſſion, and record that ſaying of *Cato*, that actiue minds can not be with a more honeſt idleneſſe, then the ſtudie of letters, corrupted nor idlenes by any greater or more dangerous pollicie, find eaſie entertainement in a well gouerned com-

mon-

mon-weale.

Some obiect, that howsoeuer this refiner of inuention learning is commendable in lower fortunes, yet in Greate men it is an occasion of more intollerable vices: that it rayseth their thoughtes into vaine regions of ambition, and to the accomplishment of things not Feasible, that it ouermastreth their reasō with the sweete insinuation of haughty matters, directing them to worke their priuate ambitions with the publike inconuenience. To this I aunswere that the argument is taken onelie frō the abuse, and therefore of no validitie, because al reasons eyther of praise or dispraise ought to bee taken from the right vse, to which a thing is directed. Moreouer I thinke, that their conceit is inueagled with the same fury, which possessing some such goodlesse mindes, hath taught them to inueigh against the vnspeakable wisedome of the Creator, for this reason onely, because hee had endewed them with reason. For (say they

they) as wine becauſe it doth ſeldom helpe, but often diſtemper the ſicke, is better deteyned, leaſt through a ſoothing hope of doubtfull health, a certaine daunger bee incurred: ſo (this ſwift mouing of the mind) reaſon is better denied to creatures, becauſe more abuſe it to naughtineſſe, then rightlie vſe it in vertuous enterpriſes.

And a little to vrge on this ſo ſtrange poſition, Is there any wrong glozed, any right eluded, any diſcord ſowed, any machination, or guile layed to entrappe the well meaning of honeſt men, but reaſon worketh it euen with a more refined ſharpnes of inuention. *Ingenioſior enim eſt ad excogitandum ſimulatio veritate, ſeruitus libertate, metus amore.* In the Tragedies wee may ſee *Medea*, with what cunning and quaint diſcourſe of reaſon, what ſubtle preparation ſhe ſeeketh to compas her deſeignes, while laying this groũdhold of proceeding.

Fructus est sceleratum tibi nullum scelus putare.

Shee worketh by congratulating her enemies with giftes, knowing that to be a course, where warie distrust might make no preuention of her malice. Nay, to leaue fables, and come to the life of truth historie: had not *Nero* great reason to supplant all those, whose libertie of minde hee could not endure, as a thing hurtful to his seate of tyrannie. His reason tolde him, that absolute power was giuen him from the Gods, that hee onelie as Lord could giue fortune to the world, and distribute haps, and mishaps at his pleasure: that it was an vntimely policy to preserue those men, who standing strong in their owne vertue and loue of the people might heaue him out of that abhominable iniustice and vsurpation.

But these reasons are but colours, to keep our iudgement from entring into consideration of the true cause, which in these smiling railers stirreth

vp

vp an ingratefull ſcorne againſt literature: And I thinke their hatred proceedeth eyther from *Domitians* reaſon, who priuie to himſelfe of moſt horrible vices, exiled theſe artes: *Ne quid vſquam honeſti oculis occurreret* or from reuerence, as to a minde guiltie there is nothing more terrible then the ſight of that which might plucke into the remembrance the omitting of doing worthilie. Euen ſo if vertue were beheldе in bodily organs, vndoubtedly ſhe would not as ſome Philoſophers haue taught, ſtir vp the degenerate minds to embrace her effectes, but rather work a deſire neuer to come to look vpon her: for as men did ſee, ſo they would againe be ſeene by her, and the ſight woulde rubbe into their mindes, and vrge their conſciences with deſerued infamie and vice in ſuch compariſon would ſeeme fuller of deformity, and then men ſo hardly aggrieued woulde forſake both feare and ſhame (the onelie meanes to withdraw euill men from wicked

courſes)

courses, and put on such a proud cõtempt, as should take a braverie and felicitie in naughtines.

Essay. 6.

Of Experience.

EXperience is the guide of the vnderstanding, the rule of will, the ouerruler of opinion, the soule, and most intier parte of wisedome, without which euen the most absolute Schollers cannot attaine to any degree of perfection in ciuil actions. There is more certaintie in the principles of practise, then in the most necessary demonstrations or cleerest discourses of reason: and these men that are intendants and practised in the occurrents of Courtes, are fitter for anie actiue employment, and can with better easinesse dispatch anie bui-

buſineſſes: *Quoniam enim habent oculum ab ipſa experientia, vident ipſũ principium.* Theſe are as it were truſty Oracles, on whoſe iudgement a mã may ſafely reappoſe his whole fortunes: they are vppon earth *inſtar præſtorum numinum*, whoſe aduiſe a man ought to take, before he engage himſelfe in any action.

For the meane, by which wiſedome inableth vs to foreſee the ſucceſſe, and accordingly after due conſideration rule the preſent, is coniecture, which by comparing thinges paſſed, preſuppoſeth out of the ſame cauſes, the ſame effects: Now in this obſcure and incertaine deliberation vpon the future, a man experienced is like him, who hauing tried a daungerous paſſage in his own perſon, & noted the by turnings which might diuert him into an error, can in the darkeſt night with a ſecure & forwarde alacritie, go the ſame way, and ouercomming all the difficulties, ariue at the appointed place, wheras another though furniſhed with the ſoundeſt

directions) yet neuer hauing proued it, quaketh at euery shadow) and hauing his spirites shut vp in a mazement, plainelie hazardeth his person.

The rules to perfect experience are, to frequent the courtes of iustice, as Free schooles of ciuill learning, to endeuour to vnderstand all occurrences, to confer concerning the newes of the world with men expert, reall, of a deepe insight, such as are not carried away with apparátes, but can spie daye light at a little hole, and make iudgement out of matters themselues, and discerne betweene truth and truth likenes, and know when ouert deseignes are the foyles of more eminent intentions.

Essay. 7.

Of Hystories.

Historie is the mixture of profite and delight, the seasoning of

of more ſerious ſtudies, the reporter of caſes adiudged by euent, the interlude of our haps, the image of our preſent fortune, the compendiary director of our affaires, by which valor is quickned, iudgement ripened, and reſolution entertained. Here are the reaſons, why ſome eſtates liue quietlie, others turmoiled in continuall diſturbances, ſome flouriſh by the delights of peace, others by continuing warre, ſome ſpend lauiſhlie without profite, others ſparinglie with honor. Here wee may ſee ruines without feare, daungerous warres without perill, the cuſtomes of all nations without expence.

By this obſeruation of noting cauſes and effectes, counſelles and ſucceſſes, likenes betweene nature and nature, action and action, fortune and fortune is obtayned that wiſedome, which teacheth vs to deliberate with ripenes of iudgement, to perſeuere in thinges deliberated, to execute with readines, to temporiſe

rise with inconueniences, to abide aduersitie, to moderate prosperitie, to know the Scriptures, but in such sort, that neyther superstition make vs vainely feareful, nor neglect cause vs to be contemptuously presuming. And by opening to vs the plottes, which gaue life to all the actions, it teacheth more then twentie men liuing successiuelie can learn by practise, as the Generall by seeing the counselles which gouerne the euent must necessarilie profite more then the Souldier, who not able to search into the causes, perceiueth onely the naked euents.

But as Histories are diuerse, so their operation in benefiting the perusers are diuers. In some as it were in *Cleanthes* table, vertue is set out in her best ornamentes, as in the describing of famous battelles, where specious wars, the ruine of nations, the scituation of Countries, the vncertaine trauerses of fortune, the death of braue Commaunders, haue a certain kind of Maiesty linked with

delight, and the mind by conuerſing in them is not onelie delighted, but alſo lifted vp with a ſpirite of better reſolution, and rayſed to thinke of imitating: Theſe fil a mā with better courage, but faile in inabling him for the manage of ciuill actions.

Another kind there is like labyrinths, relating cunning and deceitfull friendſhippes, how rage is ſuppreſſed with ſilence, treaſon diſguiſed in innocence, how the wealthy haue beene proſcribed for their riches, and the worthy vndermined for their vertue. Theſe prouoke vs to eſchew their viletie and lacke of vertue, and to be rather viceles then greatly vertuous: and although they bee diſtaſted by thoſe who meaſure Hiſtorie by delight, yet they are of moſt vſe in inſtructing the minde to the like accidentes. And ſithens men proſtituting their wittes to all hopefull endes of gaine, are ready to aduenture themſelues in the like actions, they are the moſt neceſſarie thinges, that can be warned vs, to

the intent, that in the like practises, we may seeke meanes of preuention and frustrate all the attempts of such subtlely euill companions.

In this ranke I preferre *Tacitus* as the best that any man can dwel vpon: Hee sheweth the miseries of a torne and declining state, where it was a capitall crime to bee vertuous, and nothing so vnsafe as to be securely innocent, where great mens gestures were particularly interpreted, their actions aggrauated, and construed to proceed from an aspiring intent: and the prince too suspitiously iealous touching points of concurrancie, suppressed men of great deserte, as competitors with them in that chiefest grounde, the loue of the people: When Princes rather delighted in the vices of their Subiectes, eyther because euerie man is pleased with his owne disposition in another, or because by a secret of long vse, they thought those would most patientlie endure seruitude, whose con-

contemptible manners and vilenie, might excuſe their baſe ſubiection. Hee ſheweth how enformers men of deſperate ambition, ſharpe-ſighted in ſpying faultes, and cunning in amplifying occaſions of diſlike, forſware all honeſty, redeeming the ſecuritie of their own perſons with the loſſe of good name, and liuing on the vices of men, as ſcarrabeckes on vicerous ſores: How vaine men were preferred to be treaſurers, that they might fall with their proper vanities and want of gouernment, being vſed like ſpunges, which after they had beene wet with the ſpoiles and extortions, were cruſhed and condemned that their long gathered wealth might returne to the Princes coffers.

Here ſome inferre, that the knowledge of euill doth induce and draw men to effect, that the imitation of an euill doth alway excell the preſident in height of miſchiefe, but the following of vertue doth ſcarſe equalize the example in any degree

of goodnes, that the conuersing in *Tacitus* doth deterre men from doing worthilie, where are *Canii, Senecæ, Serani, Aruntii*, men of admirable vertues in so corrupt a gouernment, ouerliuing their prosperitie, and dying like Traytors in the same age, whé *Seianus* an impudent informer straungelie compounded of the two cótrarieties of pride and flatterie, in shew modest, & therefore more dangerouslie aspiring, sweigheth the fortunes of men at his pleasure, and by lucky passing through mischieuous deuises, is growne *Ferox sceleris*, & emboldned in his trecheries.

But yet these men ought to remēber that those mischiefes are but mischiefes to a baser minde. *Quemcunque fortem videris, miserum neges*: that although they were oppressed, yet they remained still superiors, gouernors of necessity, rather directing then obeying the vexations. And I will not denie but such corrupte mindes may also suckle venome out of the most wholesome flowers, and armed

armed with ſome dangerous Poſitions out of the treaſure of bookes, may like poyſon mingled with the beſt wine more forciblie hurt by trayning on their miſchieuous purpoſes more cunningly: But yet mee thinkes, men haue great incitements to hold themſelues vp in vertue, by ſeeing euill men ſo contemptuouſlie ſet forth, quaking with the inner vpbraidings of conſcience, not entertaining ſleepe, but diſquieted with a continually tormenting executioner: Wee may learne alſo to prayſe God for our gratious Soueraigne, vnder whoſe peacefull raigne, wee are ſecured from all thoſe miſeries, and enioy all thoſe benefites whoſe worth wee ſhall know, when wee ſuffer priuation of thé, vnder whom our ſubiection is to the law, our ſeruice obſeruation, our obedience a care not to offend.

In *Tacitus* are three notes, which are required in a perfect Hiſtorie, firſt, truth inſincerely relating without hauing any thing *Hauſtum ex ſa-*

not: secondly, explanation in discouering not only the sequels of things but also the causes & reasons: thirdly iudgement indistinguishing things by approuing the best, and disallowing the contrarie, but yet hee performeth this with such an art, hiding art, as if hee were *aliud agens*, by enterlacing the *seruos* of the tale, with some iudiciall, but strangelie briefe sentences.

In making vse of this Historie knowledge, we must not ascertaine to our selues the sequell of any thing to fall out iust according to the like case in the Historie, but determine of it, as a thing apte to chance otherwise: for an example only enformes a likelyhoode, and if we gouerne our counselles by it, there must be a concurrance of the same reasons, not onelie in generall, but also in particularities.

In making iudgement of Historie, and consideratelie applying it to our present interestes, wee must specialle regard the dispositions of the

agents,

agentes, and diligentlie remarke how they are affected in minde, which is the leaſt deceyuing ground of forming opinion: for without this pondering, and knowledge of the qualities of thoſe nations, which we meet with in reading, a mā is vnable to make any due compariſon betweene the preſent particular, and the former example. But to leaue theſe diſputations, and the cauſes of variety in Cuſtomes to the ſchooles, as a matter ſome will not graunt, & fewer vnderſtand, I will onely giue ſome inſtances of the proper qualities of ſome Countries, which moſt familiarly occurre in reading. The auncient Romaines were men of an inuincible ſpirit, not diſmayed with what frowning diſaſters ſoeuer fortune could ſuppreſſe their courage, and hauing a minde ſuperior to all aduerſitie, reſembled *Antæus* in the Poet, who ſo often as hee was thrown to the ground receiued freſh ſtrength, but being lifted vppe, was ſoone tamed by his aduerſary: ſo

they

they in their declining ſtate, promiſing better of their hopes, armed vp their valour, and were filled with a greater brauerie of mind, but comming to the height of felicitie, and flowing with the ſpoiles of the whole worlde, ouerſwayed with thir owne grandeure, beganne to quaile in the laſt act, and after a ſafe eſcape from the maine ſea of forrain incumbrances, to ſuffer ſhipwracke in the hauen: then ouermany good fortunes bred in them a proude recklesſhnes, then through the diſuſe of armes all thinges fell into the relapſe and priuate diſſentions were kindled to ruine themſelues, then the citie which was wont to giue law to the whole world, began to be *fœcunda inimicitiis*, fruitfull in prouoking partialities, deſirous of ciuil tumults, craftie in eſpying and aggrauating ſecret diſlikes, ready to catch at any occaſion of innouation. Their valor made them quiet, and quiet wealthy: but according to the reuolution of al things with a ſwift & violent return

their

their wealth effminated their valo ur with idlenes, idlenes occaſioned diſorder, diſorder made ruine. And as the iron begetteth ruſt which conſumeth it, and ripe fruites produce worms which eate it, ſo their greatnes nouriſhed ſuch vices as by little and little brought them to confuſion, inſomuch that a great time their ſtate was maintained more by reputation of thinges done, then any other preſent foundation.

The French are too aduenturous in the imminency & nearenes of perill, ouerwaging the difficulties of terror with a too furious reſolution, in aſſault more then men, in maintaining the medley leſſe then womé, very irregular in their actions, groũding them vppon fallible hopes and vaine expectations, light, inconſtant, inſolent in proſperitie, deſtined rather to conquere, then keep: as contrarilie the Venetians haue recouered by the arts of peace and compoſition that, which they haue forgon by war.

The

The Spaniards are subtle, wrapping their drifts in close secresie, expressing surelie in their wordes, but keeping their intentions dissembled vnder disguised assurance of amitie, betraying the innocency of their friendes, in malice infinite, and so ouercarried with that passion, that for the most parte they execute a reuenge farre aboue the nature of the offence: not giuing any suddaine apparance of it, but waiting for opportunity so much redouble the blow, by how much it hath beene nourished with tract of time, and hung in suspence.

Essay. 8.

Of Art Militarie.

THere is a barbarous opinion of the cotrarietie of armes and learning, and the impossibility

bility of their meeting in any perſon: which vnreaſonable Paradoxe well fitteth thoſe who know nothing but the fury of ſtrength, and not the vertue of courage. For without this, fortitude is intiteled to thoſe actions which holde rather of vice, and the more it ſeekes to hurt, the leſſe it is able to hurt, and is eyther a raſhnes which after the firſt brunt dieth in it ſelfe, *Et ſt quadam animalia, amiſſo aculeo torpit*, and cannot hurt, like ſome beaſtes which ſhoote the ſting, and partake no more with the poyſon, or a falſe vigor proceeding from diſpaire, when men weary of the worldes eyes ſhall thruſt themſelues into manifeſt perill without any ſufficient ground of reaſon: or a fiercenes, when choller & the effects of anger are made the motiues of valor, or a confidence, when a man after the often aſpect of daunger, & by the lucky paſſing of diuers fightes is become hazardous, and enterpriſing in ſuch ſort, as the vice of drinking, *In praelia trudit inermē*. Without lerning

ning *Hercules* is furious, *Dares* insolent, *Achilles* ouercome with vain delightes, vnable to commaund his owne decent appetites, and ready to haue ingloriously separated himselfe from reuealing his vertue, if wise *Vlisses* had not by a timely policie drawne him to retire into himselfe, and consider the fraile foundations of those weakenesses, which did so infeeble his resolution.

But although learning bee of great consequence in perfection of a martiall man, yet experience is the chiefest point, neyther can a man be absolute by reading other mens exploites. The true Schoole of warre, is the fielde, and not the Chamber: the teacher is vse, and the best course for attaining is to bee present in the important deliberations, to obserue and ponder vpon the executions, to consider the euents, and the counsels which gouerned them, from which obseruation ariseth that wisedome, which inableth vs to make choice of our aduantages, to aduance opportuni-

tunities, to cut off by celeritie all discourse of counsell from the enemie, to make his inuentions sorte to his proper ruine, to ouercome by quicknes the difficultie of those thinges which could not be suppressed by expecting, to accommodate prouisoes to all chaunces, to alter our determinations according to the suddennes and varietie of occurrences, neither to feare nor despise the enemy, but to remember, *Vt semper pendeat hamus*, to be readie to catch at that period of time, occasion, which by a fortunate meeting of circumstances doth ease vs in the compassing our proiectes.

Great men ought to frequent the warre, proposing to themselues these three reasons which moued *Tiberius* to addresse *Drusus* into *Illyricum*: The first was, *ſuescere militiæ*, to inure and experience him in warfare: for it is not sufficient to haue military science in our minde, but by often meditations to make it familiar to our hands and feet. He is the best souldier

dier that is moſt experimented, neither can I more fitly compare theſe booke-knightes then to a Muſitian, who inſiſting onely vpon the Theoricke, is not able to expreſſe anie thing.

The ſecond was, *Studia exercitus parare*, to wind himſelfe into the fauour of the Souldiers: which thing of what conſequence it is in rayſing and preferring a man, wee may ſee in *Hannibal*, who being wholie a martiall man, borne and nouriſhed in his Fathers pauilion and ſight of the ſoldiers, was before the prime of his youth choſen generall through their cõſent & applauſe: neither was there any other apparant cauſe of the obtayning that dignitie at ſo vnripe yeares but the affection of the army: which alway deſireth ſuch a Leader, whoſe manners they are moſt familiarly acquainted with.

The chiefe rules to get this fame and reputation are theſe, to haue a watchfull eye, a diligent hand, a reſolute heart, at the beginning to do

rather

rather too much then too little, ſometime to hazard fairely, to watch and warde, to glory in being content with a little, not to bee more coſtly apparrelled, then a priuate ſouldier, *Arma & equi conſpiciantur*: in action, to bee heedfully earneſt, to refuſe no employment for feare, nor enter into any vppon an humor of oſtentation, to ſuppreſſe the eſteeme of your atchiuements, and vnderualewing them humbly like a Miniſter, referre the honor to the Fortune of the Generall. For ſuch modeſtie augmenteth the fame of vertue, being indeede like thoſe ſhadowes which cunning painters vſe to increaſe the luſtre, and grace of their protraytures: & men ſeeing ſuch reſpectes ſuch account made of things done, will preoccupy conceites of ſome nobler future ſucceſſes: *Iugurthaes* arte in inworthying himſelfe was, *parumum facere, & nihil de ſeipſo loqui*, and ſo hee con-

quered enuie, and the passion of emulation with an infinite glorie.

The thirde reason was, *Simul Iuuenem vrbano luxu lasciuientem, melius in castris haberi rebatur Tiberius.* Therefore the Campe must not bee frequented as a secure and priuiledged place of licentiousnes, but as a Schoole where the bodie ought to bee inured, and by continuall labour subiected to the miseries of trauell, thereby not to bee daunted in the imminencie of danger, nor to feare a wound but with an inuincible vigor to endure all corporall aduersities.

Essay. 9.

Of Trauell.

TRauell entertaineth a mã with delight, neyther is there any so confirmed in a contempt of all worldly thinges, who findeth not himselfe out of a meere instinct of nature, infinitely pleased with the stately representation and Maiestie of strange and famous cities: But what an inward oblectation it is to see the ruines of Theaters, of triumphall Arcusses, to view the places which doe yet testifie the vertues of the ancient Worthies,

Et campos ubi Troia fuit,

They know best, whose minds soare higher, and become greater by be-

holding the memorials of other mẽ glory and magnificence.

But because reason biddeth vs to proui de rather for the beutifying of our nobler part the mind, then for the flattring of sense, the chief scope must be abilitie, and the greatest delight to feele with *Solon*: *Senescere se multa indies addiscentem*. For although these studies require rather retirednes & immunitie frõ those disquiets which this (vnsetled kind of life) trauelling doth draw with it: yet let vs know, that to this ornamẽt of knowledge concur not onely the sense of seeing, to conuerse in the monumẽts and treasure of bookes: but also of hearing in conferring with men, excellent in euerie profession: in enfellowshipping with diuerse natures & dispositions. For this varietie of companie bettereth behauiour, subtelizeth artes, awaketh and exerciseth wit, ripeneth iudgement, confirmeth wisedome, and enricheth the mind with many worthy and profitable obseruations: performing all

these

theſe by ſo ſecret a working, and inſenſible alteration, that a man doth ſooner acknowledge himſelfe much abler, then hee can apprehende the meanes: Euen as in the growing of a tree we perceiue not the ſucceſſiue motion of encreaſe, but at length may ſufficientlie aſſure our ſelues, that there hath beene an augmentation.

In this obſeruation, as there are many generall thinges, with which a man may truſt himſelfe, ſo there are many particularities which are more ſpeciallie to bee obſerued, as moſt powerfull to inſpire vs with ciuill wiſedome, and inable our iudgement for any actiue employment, vid. the religion, lawes, forme of gouernement, ſcituation, caſtles, fortifications, cities, forces, what neighbours confine, of what power, how inclined: The noble Families, their diſcents, intermarriages, their potencie, either immediate of themſelues, or by reaſon of the kinges countenance, their adherences, ſects,

dependencies, partialities, and th
cauſes of all.

But becauſe in forraine countri
es there are many peculiar vices co
uered with the ſpetious ſemblanc
of humanitie, which hauing bor
long ſweigh and growing into c
ſtom, vnworthily find not only pa
don, but alſo commendation: an
our weaknes is prone to participa
thoſe euill habites, which eyth
flatter it with noueltie, or deceiue
with a glorious ſhew of vertue, ther
fore a man ready to enter ſuch expe
ditions muſt obſerue theſe rules, a
the chiefeſt preſeruations of reaſo
againſt any ſuch infection, ſo muc
the more daungerous, when th
contagion inueagleth and ente
reth in the aire of a peruerſe appro
bation.

For aſſuring our ſelues that whe
are many vices, there are alſo in
nite vertues (becauſe no euill is
bad, as that which proceedes fro
the corrupte ſeedes of goodneſſe
wee muſt in ſuch places affect th

familiariti

familiaritie of the best, by all conuenient obseruances, endearing them who as they preacede in all worthie qualities: so especiallie in this vertue of easines and humanitie. And although many daungerous mindes are hidden vnder the false Glasse and deceiuable apparances of feighned meekenes (a vertue rather taken on, then taken into them) yet the best rule is (if there bee no other manifest cause of prohibition) to applie to their conuersation, who are most excellent in the Formes of behauiour: For thereby men are bettered in a certaine externall vertue of ciuilitie and gentlenes: which if it flowe kindlie, natural without forcing against the hare and voide of the two imperfections affecting, and ostentation vndoubtedlie cannot but worthilie commende a man, and make demonstration of a mind aunswerable.

In meeting with natures close and retired, spare in reuealing themselues, conformed to all turninges

of sleightes, skilfull in dissembling passions, such as can pretexe spite with a countenance of amitie, it is good (if they bee innocent and harmeles) to vse semblinges, as opportune defences to frustrate their proiectes, but not as machinations inuented for mischieuing. Therefore the countenance (the gate of the minde) must bee open and free to all, the toung sparing in vtterance of thinges of importance, the minde closed, and this remembred. *Chi vuol andar per passe, deue hauere bocca de porcello, L'orecchie d' asinello.*

Essay. 10.

Of Affabilitie.

Affabilitie is like Musicke, which is made by a iudiciall correspondency of a sharpe and flatte, it is a mixt ure

mixture of pleasingnes, and seuerity in such sort, that neyther gentlenes by being a derogation, weaken reuerence, nor seueritie loue. It is not sufficient to be altogether reall in performing the effectes of a louing minde: but also euerie man requireth to bee assured by vtter apparances, as messengers of the inner intentions: And if by these oblations a man giue not his friend confidence and suretie, I may not vnfitly compare his beneuolence to an image, which in it selfe well proportioned, but not apparrelled in apte colours, doth want that delightfull lustre, which should satisfie the greedie eyes of the spectators.

A man must bee not onely present in ministring any conueuience office, but also by sending forth in the countenance the paunes and assurance of loue, by exciting men to open and reueale their businesses, and by promising al conuenient furtherance. For as men warme in the youthfull desires of loue, take greatest

test comfort by being seene of their Mistresse, and receiue more ioye from a wanton looke, then from any other sense: so among all the kind offices of friendship, there is none so desired, as this acknowledgement by outward respects, especially whē the ende is meere salutation: for there is no more contrarie enemie to true friendshippe, then the motion of proper interest.

The Romaines not to defraud any man of a due and conuenient Congie, retained certain Admonitors (called *Nomenclatores*) who should suggest the name, qualitie, and accounte of euery one they incountred, that they might be saluted in a conformable stile: for to looke straunge and disdainefull, to bee backward in returning these respects procureth hatred euen in the dearest friendes, so much more daungerous, by how much men can lesse endure to be despised, then iniuried, because other grieuances concerne onelie the bodie, and bringe this com-

fort

fort, that hee is some bodie in his conceite that so offended him: but the iniuries of contempte are a disreputation, and the offended taketh himselfe to bee accounted no body, and therefore such omissions can hardlie by any meanes bee redeemed.

Cæsar through his wonderful vertues had setled himselfe in the strong loue of the people, and with his easinesse and affabilitie, (as with sugar sprinckled vpon a bitter medicine,) had mittigated the griefe, which a Romaine spirit might take from the pretious remembrance of lost libertie: while by seeming to arrogate nothing, hee obtayned that all affaires of consequence should remain at his deuotion: yet one vncircumspection in not receiuing the senate with due reuerence, cancelled all memory of former desertes, gaue his enemies honest colour to beare him ill will, and authorised an opinion, that his death was meritorious and lawfull.

The

The seasoning of these oblations and ceremonies is, a readines to pleasure, deuotion, faith, sincerities, which wee ought to addresse according to the present opportunitie. In these apparances, æqualles must bee esteemed superiors, and no circumstance must be omitted, eyther of meeting, or of accompaning, or of salutation; for these outward forms are obserued as demonstrations of the inward affection: Inferiors must bee receiued with manifestation of an hopeful willingnes to see them compeares, by acknowledging their merite and worthines: but if they bee of æquall rancke, (as followers of some great state) a man must stand indifferent to all: otherwise some will bee discontent, and thinke him moued with passions: others insolent, when they know that hee is necessited to depende on them, howsoeuer they entreate him.

If any shall importune an vnwonted request, the repulse must bee mo-

modeſt by ſhewing the qualitie of the matter to be intractable, by rendring ſome ſufficient excuſe (which may ariſe from the circumſtances of time and place, or other infinite accidentes) by reuealing a deſire to open in a more fitte time thoſe effects which enuious occaſió will not now permit. Thus Denials will bee interpreted as ſpeciall fauours, and mé filled with a certaine hopefull reuiuing of minde will bee contented with promiſe. *Sic homines fronte & oratione magis, quam ipſo beneficio, reg, capiuntur.*

The way to attaine acceptable behauiours, is not a point of endeuour, (for then it is feighned, & it alway chanceth that feighned curteſie turneth to pride) but rather cõſifteth in a certaine induction and readines of the mind, which if it bee excellent, will eaſily ſute it ſelfe in theſe Formes: for (as it was ſaide by one, whome to name were preſumptió) behauiour is but a garment, and it is eaſie to make a comly

garment

garment for a body in it self wel proportioned, whereas a deformed body can neuer bee so helped by Taylorsarte, but the counterfeiting will appeare. Obseruation also is a good meane, but a careleſneſſe in expreſſing doth adde a ſingular grace, as one motion in dauncing kindlie proceeding, performed reckleſſly, cunningly implieth that a man can doo better then he can. If there bee any art vſed, it muſt bee in hiding art, otherwiſe it will hold eyther of affected ſelfe conceite, or of tedious oſtentation.

Againe, it is not ſufficient to prouoke men to diſcloſe their intereſtes, by giuing ready audience and eaſie acceſſe: but alſo a man muſt patientlie attend their ſutes, the behauiour being ſuch, as may ſhew all our powers occupied in conſideration of them, but by contradicting or foreconceiuing of the concluſion to breake off their conceites is a contempt, which toucheth the mind, and cannot bee redeemed with

neuer

neuer so great good pleasures.

To denie a sute doth dismisse men discontented, therefore in some cases it is better to promise, although there appeare no conueniencie for the effectuating: for howsoeuer the present affaire bee disappointed, yet men are more pleased with him, whom they see hindered in dispatch of weightier occurrences, then they would bee if they receiued a flat deniall. This rule although it cannot stand with the strict preceptes and square of honesty, yet it is a speciall point of this qualitie, (which I may call with *Cicero*, *Artificium benevolentia colligendæ*) which is eyther a vertue, or cannot stande without vertue.

Also benefits must seeme to be receiued rather of curtesie then of deseruing: and (amplifications drawne from the circumstances) it is good highlie to esteeme them, as matters of great moment and very necessary, and employed in time: for men loue to bee accounted profita-

ble

table, and to haue their seruices acknowledged.

Essay. 11

Of Iestes.

IT is a point of Affabilitie to interlarde our discourses with some sayinges which may come from a readinesse of Witte, and to place *Mercurie* (as it were) in the middest of the graces. A continued graue speech doth hold of tediousnes: To abuse Iestes too often doth diminish the reputation of the busines, and impaireth grauitie: but as a little water dooth not quench the fire, but is vsed to inflame it: so these wittie sayinges seruing opportunitie, and sparinglie scattered in our speech, are acceptable in reenforcing of it, and causing a stron-

ger

ger apprehenſion. They are the ſeaſoning, and muſt not want that matter and iudgement which ought to bee ſeaſoned: otherwiſe in ſtead of giuing a delicate taſt, they becom tediouſly troubleſome: He rein let vs imitate wiſe painters, who chiefly propoſe to coũterfeyt the miniature ieſſe intentiue to the vtter ornamẽts as thinges apt to bee varied, as ſhall beſt ſerue for ſetting forth the principall: ſo the minde muſt bee accommodated to the preſent buſines, and ieſtes (the appartelling of our ſpeech) vſed as Parentheſes, which being in bewtifie, and marre not the ſenſe.

And as skilfull Architectes ſo diſpoſe the windowes in a ſtatelie edifice, that neither the multitude weaken the houſe, nor the want bee a deficient cauſe of darkenes: ſo a man muſt prouide that neither the often vſe of ieſtes cauſe him to incurre the name of ridiculous, nor the want breede opinion of incourteous auſteritie. And as they take

In the light where the aire swimming along a pleasant place, may make the prospect more excellent: so wee ought to inlette a iest into the body of more graue reasonings, when the oportunitie and lucky meeting of circumstances may make the delight more full.

These iestes are of speciall force in auoiding idle questions (manie thinges being fit so to be aunswered least they might bee thought worthy of a graue determination) *Vanitas propriè festinitas cedit.* They are more passable after prouocation and the apprehension of the wit appereth greater, especiallie if the countenance be graue, and set, and if more may bee surmised then the bare letter doth expresse: All dishonest formes or vulgar basenes must be eschewed: They must not note any true defect, and therefore with weake and small natures, not standing vpon the might and strength of their owne vertues, it is good to containe many words, which may

relish

relish of a wittie pleasingnes. For presentlie, men guiltie, thinke their fame is touched, whereas another, who pretendeth to vertue, and out of wel grounded confidence, feareth no disreputation would bee delighted. They must not concerne any mans present calamitie: for men in misetie are prone to suspect, and receiue any thing as a contumelie, by an impotency perswaded that their misery is derided, and in minds already troubled, new displeasures make a deeper impression, then they do in such spirites as are free and void of passion.

Essay. 12.

Of Discretion.

Discretion is the Gouernesse of vertue, the rule of our behauiours

uiour, the measure of our affections, the Mistresse of demeanure, that seasoning of our actions, which maketh them acceptable, teaching vs to bee comelie without wantonnes, handsome without curiositie, solemne without tediousnes, learned without vaine-glorie, friendly without factiousnesse, severe without disquiet, valiant without braving, courteous with grauitie, and benigne with Maiesty: and to conclude it is the ballance, in which wee should weigh all our actions. But least in setting forth the pointes of this qualitie, I should stray into the confines of wisdome, and intitle it to those actions which holde of an higher vertue, I will restraine it to such indifferent thinges, whose forme and qualitie of vsage may apperraine eyther to vertue or vice: But in performing them a man must bee precise: for the vulgar sort,

(*Qui stupet in titulis, & imaginibus*)

not able to see into matters themselues, will euer iudge of the substance

stance by the circumstances, and according to the outwarde semblance preoccupie conceites of the inward intentions: This is that which *Cicero* commendeth in great Fortunes: *non solum animi, sed etiam oculis seruire civium*, & not to thinke himselfe discharged, except hee accompanie his actions with faire likelihoodes. This modesty (if it be not taken on for shew, nor affected & violent) is an external composure, and decency of Customes, rising out of that inward moderation, by which all disordinate passions and irregular motions, are subiected to the rule of reason, and through which a man fulfilleth that Decorum, which by a sweete Harmonie and good accorde of fitte time and place, addeth a singular grace to all our actions: teaching vs to put a difference in persons, and which diuers natures to treat diuersly: with familiars to bee open hearted, with strangers suspitious, with cleare dealing men secure, with subtle Companions warie, with

pleasants delicate, with the learned real, with the ambitious desirous of their greatnes, with the modest free from passions, with the interessed distrustfull, to euill men sparing in giuing trust: And by this applying to euery mans humor, thinges difficult become facile, and matters of trouble loose their grieuousnes.

Some men are so incapable, that they make small thinges great, easie businesses impossible, and enterprise nothing, which through their peruerse grace is not difficultly accomplished, whose frowardnesse a man may compare to the vnskilfulnesse of some Chirurgions, who in steade of healing, fester a wound, and in lieu of mitigation make the torments more grieuously daungerous, whereas expert Leaches doe with gentle lenitiues redresse the maladie before the Patient haue any feeling of pain. So men discreete hauing their spirits awaked to all circumstances manage matters with a more delicate deportment, and by certaine premised pre-

para-

giratiues ſo diſpoſe the mind of the other agent, as it may bee apt to receiue any form which they ſhall impoſe: And with the ſame art deale with thoſe, who by a crooked nature ſhew themſelues inſupportable, or tranſported with the fury of paſſions vtter wordes full of diſdaine. Now men indewed with this vertue of eaſineſſe, (as cunning Vaulters by a nimble ſleight ſaue themſelues frō the impetuous aſſaulte of the aduerſarie) eyther by drawing their reaſons frō ſome vnexpected place, or by paſſing with a readines of apprehenſion to a more plauſible ſubiect, or by ſounding a farre off with ſome extrauagant wordes, ſo follow their vnderſtanding, that at length they condeſcend, vſing the ſame conſideration, which good Players at ball haue, who not to ſuffer a reſt, do not onelie ſtand attentiue to ſend it to their companion, but with like heed prouide to retake it, by accommodating their perſon, & expecting it in the likelieſt place: ſo they to

auoide all hinderances doe not onely ſute their own wordes, but alſo giue fauourable cõſtructions to the ſpeeches of the other agent, by diſſembling the diſcontentments which might ariſe: euen as the Sun dooth not altogether moue with the higheſt heauen, nor yet is mooued directly contrary, but fetching a compaſſe a little ouertwhart, maketh an oblique circle, and by varietie of approaching and departing keepeth the world in good temperature: So *Otho* being not well eſtabliſhed, and knowing that he muſt moderate that diſcipline, which might ſeeme to be exacted in ſuch a caſe, in repreſſing a mutinie, imputeth the confuſion & diſturbances, to a tender and exceſſiue affection of the Souldiers towardes him, more zealous then conſiderate. *Nimia pietas ſeffra, &c.* And thus hee quieted thoſe, who (being by the guilt of rebellion excluded from all hope of pardon) might according to the nature of man, (which hateth thoſe whome it hath

hurt) fall to desperatiō of recouering fauour, when desperation in such times of commotions might drawe them to a setled resolution to keepe themselues out of reach of correctiō. For if one play false, the best rule is, to seeme not to perceiue it, & (if he begin (as suspected) to cleare himselfe) to semble neuer to haue doubted of his fidelitie. *Qui enim se non putat satis facere, amicus esse nullo modo potest.* Therefore *Agrippina* in *Tacitus* knowing her life attempted by Nero, knew well, that her onelie remedy was to take no notice of the treasons.

Neyther is it the part of a seruilie fawning nature, to aunswere them with moderation, which vrge out of passion, but rather a quiet téper grounded vpon a certaine and infallible confidence in vertue. A man must rule his affections and make reason like another *Automedon* to direct them, thereby to tollerate other mens defectes, and make a vertuous resistance against pride, arro-

arrogancie, and other such vniust rebellions of passions.

Wee must vse the shield of mansuetude, which may mitigate the suddennes and fury of anger, compose the inner powers of the minde, and conforme the appetite of reuenge to reason: for this affection not regulated by an higher power, maketh a man forgetfull of God and conscience, depriuing the minde of the light of iudgement, distempering the humors of the bodie, and giuing them a pray to diuerse daungerous diseases.

Of Speech.

OVr language must bee naturall without affectation honest, comely, significant, expressiue, proper, voide

voide of all feate and effeminate tearmes. In ſpeaking the rules are to vtter our minde freely without diſſembling: for words doubtfull and obſcure reſerued in particular, bound to reſpect or feare, or argumentes of a baſe minde, and tokens of imbecilitie of ſpirit: To auoide in priuate diſcourſes to take vp the chaire: for there is nothing more odious then to affect to bee wiſe out of time, & learning taſteth not kindlie to euerie Pallet: To vſe ſometimes conceites of learning, as the embroderies, but in an hiden maner like as apparrell doth repreſent the proportion, but not the barenes of our members. To point at Hiſtories without making any particular relation of the circumſtances: to auoide compariſons, except they be reſtrayned to a Metaphore, for otherwiſe they cannot be *ſine apparatu Rhetorico*, or ſome other vnſeaſonable inſinuation, To auoide prepoſterouſnes, for to know what is treated, is the mother of attention in the hear-

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er. But generallie it is the greateſt wiſedome rather to attend others, then to be an eloquent Marchant of ſelfe conceites, for men expert and practiſed, can out of a mans wordes deduce great conſequences, and take light of matters of greate importance.

Essay. 14.

Of Wiſedome.

IF wee will know, what wiſedome is, let vs lay aſide the curious queſtions of Schoolemen, and ſuch as are truelie Nominalles, and conſider it in the frame of our Microcoſme: where are two eyes ſignifying foreſight with pondering vpon the likelihoode of ſucceſſe, two eares patientlie to admit the counſell of others, and not

to bee carried away with self complacence: one hart for persevering in an vniforme resolution, and two handes for quicke dispatching, and putting it in execution: And this is wisedome, whereof there cannot bee deuised a more expressiue Hieroglyphicke, then the composition of our bodies.

This heauenly gifte, begetting in our heartes a secret and inuisible light, hath some resemblance to the eies of some courageous wild beasts, which in the morning when euerie silly creature maketh vse of the sight, repose themselues: but in the darke night see cleerest, and then addresse themselues to pray: So wisedome in difficulte affaires such as are beyonde the straine, and leuell of a cómon discourse, behaueth herself excellentlie: but triuiall matters with a certaine despisingnes neglecteth or handleth them vnder expectation as a common iudgement would do. Therefore men of a deepe insight & great vnderstanding, hauing neyther degree

degree nor riches, nor authorities, equall to their sufficiencie in thinges of small moniente, as disproportionated to their vertue, behaue themselues sometime inconsideratelie careleſſe: but admitted to the sweighing of great matters, vnexpectedlie come to reueale in deedes and conceites that greatneſſe and maieſtie which by the baſeneſſe of their fortune was oppreſſed and kept vnder. *Excitantur enim ad meliora magnitudine rerum*, and they loue to be employed in that which might bee, *rare excellent, singular, and aboue the ordinary capacitie.*

The firſt parte of Wiſedome is deliberation, in which wee muſt reſolue neyther with haſt nor affection, the one not giuing time enough to diſcuſſe thoſe thinges which ought to be conſidered, the other ſo occupying the minde, that no thought creepe in which doth not in all regards conforme it ſelfe to giue ſufferance to that paſſion: wee muſt promiſe our ſelues nothing before our

concep-

conceptions are by great presumptions assured of successe. For the fervencie of hope maketh men somwhat more reckleshly negligent, insomuch that when they are disapointed, they are as impatiently grieued, as if they had falne from an essentiall felicitie, like nouice Marchantes, who forecounting great gaines, & failing of their fresh expectation, are suddenlie imbarked in that vnrecouerable mischiefe of debt.

In counsell it is the greatest excellency (and in many natures rather to be wished then hoped for) to preferre the opportunitie of time before the suggestion of disdaine, to moderate deseignes according to the aduerse, or prosperous winde of occasion, to serue time and not obstinatlie wrestle with foule weather, but like an experienced Pilotte put into some harbor till the cleared skie promise a more secure passage. But wee must not betake our selues to those remedies, which doe rather declare the greatnes of danger, then redresse

the

the inconueniences, neither must we thinke in great deliberations to auoide all inconueniences: for it is impossible that in this worlde one thing be ingendred without the corruption of another, and euery commoditie is vnfortunatelie annexed to some discommoditie, But let vs remember

Rade volte aduien, che ad alte imprese
Fortuna ingiuriosa non contrasti.

Slow counselles are fitte rather to preserue then encrease a state, speedy and quicke doe rather encrease then preserue? *Agendo, audendoque res Romana creuit.* But in cases of exigencie, the worst course is to bee gouerned by middle counselles, neither to be cautelous sufficiently in prouiding, nor earnest enough in executing.

But as mines if they be secretly made, produce wonderfull effects, otherwise endamage more then they auaile: so counsels if they be wrapped vp in silence, are very fortunately powerfull in ciuill actions, but

diuul-

divulgated loose their force, when the other partie hath time to frustrate their ends.

The way to keep a thing private is to acquainte no body with it: Those things which are knowne one-lie to our selues, cannot be common, those thinges which are imparted to another cannot be secret. No man but hath some friend, whose fidelitie he holdeth so assured that hee may safelie entrust him with his neerest touching secrete, and hee presently will with equall confidence to ano-ther disclose, till at length it be gene-rally known.

And how can a man exact that faith in another, which he hath vio-lated in himselfe? or how require si-lence when hee hath not performed it? or what indiscretion is it by o-pening to another, to enter a volun-tary seruitude, and to liue awed, lest hee discontent him? But in commit-ting any secrets to another, we must imitate those, who in trying a new vessell, first proue it with water, be-

fore they trust it with wine.

There is nothing more contrary to this qualitie, then the passion of anger, which a man ought especiallie to moderate, by empyring over his affections, and triumphing in commanding himselfe to forgiue in such sorte, that it breake not out into wordes, specially against those, who stand able to iustifie themselues in the full of reputation: Those men, (which as *Cassius* saide) carry their heart in their mouth, are rather to be pitied then feared, their threatnings serueing for no other end, then to arme him that is threatned.

The chiefest rules of Wisedome are these: To prouide against the beginnings of euills: for disorders at the first little gather strength in trad of time, euen as insensible vapors bring forth horrible tempestes: But when the euill doth exceede power of resistance, it is best by timing and discreet waiting to expect opportunities, for changes in time receaue contrary reuolutions, and conclude

cleane different from their first apparance and likelihoode.

To continue in action and menaging of matters: for new businesses arise out of the former, both by reason of the coherency and way, that one open to another, and also by the authoritie which is regained by being engaged in the handling of thé: *Cæsar* at his first rising into great expectation, would not suffer any matters of moment to passe at *Rome*, without his participation and notice, insomuch that euen no conspirady or matter of innouation coulde happen but hee was an agent: For he was a party in the combination of *Crassus* and his companies, of *Caius Pisa* and of *Cateline*. But to bee interessed in many businesses of consequence at one time, doth deuide a man, and cause him to make imperfect offers, and reuerse thinges before they be perfected.

To accompany all actions with a good colour, for many (*quibus magnos viros per ambitionem æstimare mos est*)

of) not able to see into thinges themselues, will make iudgement by the circumstances.

To auoide suddaine chaunges: for that doth hold of violence, and violence doth seldome sorte to anie prosperous ends.

To preferre the present state, before innouations, and that which is it *in statibus*: for this is nothing else but to account rather of certainety, then incertainety, rather of thinges easie and safe, then magnificent and dangerous.

Not to giue sufferance to the first wrongs: for that breedeth proper derogation: Such vnworthy tollerations inspire the party with boldnesse, and are (as it were) pullies to draw on iniuries: but to call thinges into correction, preserueth authoritie.

To dissemble according to the apparances and fashions of the time: *Tiberius* gloried in nothing so much as his cunning in cloaking his purposes with faire pretences, and going

ing inuisibly, in which surely he was excellent.

To settle more assurance in him, that expecteth, the in him who hath receiued a benefite: for by speeding in sutes, men become slacke waiters, when hope of honor and gaine (the onely soueraigne meane to conserue men in due deuotion) shall be satisfied.

To be wiselie diffident, and put on a iudiciall distrust: Put on I say becausse there is nothing lesse familiar, and easie to honest men then to suspect: for they thinke the strength of vertue in another, whereof they finde the foundation in themselues, for it is very true that men most fairly conditioned are of the first impression & apt to be trained into errors: but such as are practised in wickednes, goo alway armed against the like. To suspect causlesly in steade of imagined wrong, returneth an effectuall iniurie, and many haue inuited their friendes to deceiue them while too iniuriously their fidelity is

called in question.

To despise iniuries of honour nobly, and with an highnes of mind: for contumelies not regarded vanish of themselues into obliuion, but repined at, argue a guiltie conscience. Men enuious (desiring to perish rather with their owne vices, then bee saued by anothers vertue) are ready to diminish the reputation of a more worthier: But the best aunswere to their slaunders is to aunswere nothing, and so to steward the effectes of reuenge, as if the aduersary were rather to bee contemptuously pitied, then reckoned of: or rather a man must endeuour by doing well to authorise an ill opinion of them. For as enuie is the shadowe of vertue: So when vertue shall come to that perfection, as to reueale it selfe to the worlde, then like the vertical sunne it abateth all shadowes, which the low creeping obiections of detraction can sturre. In suffering thinges of this qualitie is shewed the greatest force and magnanimi-

naminitie, and a sure confidence in vertue. Let vs remember that an honest and wise man can no way be dishonoured: that it is an excellent and diuine commendation, *Ab aduersante malo non timebat*.

To qualifie enuie (which vndoubtedlie will arise in men of no action, in sufficiencie being very apprehensiue) the best course is to attribute the successes rather to fælicitie then vertue. Therefore *Sylla* to suppresse any such humors, as preiudiciall to his rising and greatnes, referred the honour of his exploites to the speciall grace of Fortune, and the better to encrease that opinion oftentimes auerred, that enterprises hazarded according to the suddaine occasion, better prospered with him, then those which by good aduise hee determined of.

Enuie also hath no force when it appeareth, that the actions are directed rather to vertue, then to

fame. Great Fortunes hauing atchieued matters worthy themselues, must not ambitiously seeke ceremonies, nor abuse the prosperous endes to vanitie of speech: but by auoiding popular meetinges, by moderating the rumor of deserte, they must beginne, *Otium & somnum loqui*, and excuse themselues from entering into any actions of the like qualitie, but in such sort, that neither through the motion of worldlie appetite, and ambition, they seeke to embrace more then is conuenient, nor throgh too many suspitions, and too much incredulity, they depriue themselues of great occasions.

Of

Essay. 15

Of Reputation.

REputation is a common conceit of extraordinary vertue acquired not by the multitude, but by the greatnes of actes, by so stewarding a mans seasonable endeuours, as that which is done may be apprehended, as rare, singular, great, without paragon, admirable. Small vertues & of ordinary excellency winne both trust and loue: for the vnderstanding presently finding in them a degree of worthines, moueth the will to embrace them: but great vertues drawing with them a certaine diuine com

competencie and greatnes, so amuſt the intellectuall part in contemplation of their valew, that the affection of loue is excluded as not able to honor, when the mind is neuer satisfied in admiring.

Those actions doe chiefely settle this impression, which proceede from a discreete despising of those thinges, which the common sense of worldlinges apprehendeth to be desired: as to refraine from those lustfull affections, into which humaine imbecilitie is prone to seduce the most restrayned imagination: or to resolue against death, and rather incounter the most hideous formes of daunger, then ouercome by any vniuſt aduantages: or by commanding ouer all priuate intereſtes, by forgetting all naturall affections, when they ſtand not with an higher vertue: So *Scipio* by offering no dishonour or violence to that faire damsel *Allucia* his Spouse: So *Fabritius* in returning the traytorous Phisitian to his deserued punishment, So *Manli-*

by performing exemplary iuſtice vpon his ſole ſonne, obtained this eſteeme, and a loue mixed with authoritie. Surely that action imported a wonderfull temper of mind, & an abſolute victory of thoſe paſſions which in ſuch caſes would ouerſweigh the beſt grounded reſolution: For euen Æneas himſelf, in whome magnanimitie doth ſhine through all miſtie fearefulnes, hauing with a ſecure brauerie of mind, paſſed multitudes of his enemies, yet when hee hath taken charge of his Father, and his ſon [illegible], hee findeth himſelfe diſarmed of that vertuous indifferency, fearing their feare, quaking at euery ſhadow,

Et pariter comitiq;, onerique timentem.

To confirme our minds in this deſpiſingnes, wee muſt direct our courſe to attaine the Hauen, and quiet of a good conſcience, accounting all other thinges in no other proportion, then as the windes and tempeſtes, which would remoue vs from this determination, by forcing

cing vs with a weake dispaire, and coward hating of life to retire into the harbor of idlenes: we must remember to accustome our thoughtes to expectation of troubles, to receine them with no perturbation, to rule ouer Fortune, to thinke her nothing if humaine ignorance and imbecilitie did not deifie her, if our vaine ambitions and disordinate concupicences did not arme her in that vsurpation of reasons seignory: we must seeke true felicitie in the center of the minde, and not in the circumference of worldlie thinges, which are subiect to continuall reuolution: for that is to giue our selues a praye to those alterarions, which follow the interchaunge of faire and contrarie accidents: wee must know, that as we are compounded of an heauenlie, and earthy substance, so our care must bee to prouide for the good of the better parte, and for the bodie but in a lower degree, as the instrument of the soule. And as wee must not contemne in this life, fame, honor

honor, wealth, friendes, and those thinges which in the deceiuable stile of appetite are called goods, and attributed to fortune, but by honest meanes endeuour their fruition, as thinges good or bad according to the vse: so wee must not delight in them for themselues, nor bee troubled in suffering their priuation, nor out of an humor of confidence prouoke miseries: *Ascanius* in a youthfull brauerie,

Optat aprum, aut fuluum descendere monte leonem:

But that desire proceedeth from a not well-guided (but yet excusable) heate of vnripe yeares: Wee performe our deuoires, if void of feare (the onely thing to bee feared) wee so tollerate vnauoidable mischiefes, that they neither disturbe reason, nor driue the minde to vnrest: otherwise as a feauer doth hinder the operatiõs of the bodie, so sorrow springing from these chaunces (if it bee not moderated) disquieteth reason, al-

admitteth many corrupt & disdainful inclinations, subiecteth the mind to infinite defections, and stayeth the execution of great and worthie actions.

This aptnesse of resolution, or of disposing a mans inward selfe, is waited on with valour and wisedom which are the two most principal pillers of Reputation, not onely in respect of their coherency in the same manner, as the eye and the hand, but because they rather come of a benefite of nature, then intente & choice (the one proceeding from a readinesse of witte, the other from a presence and courage of minde) drawing with them in a kinde of dependence these heroicall vertues, magnanimitie, patronage of iustice against all oppressions and magnificence. Other vertues of meekenes, humanity and courtesie, in ministring to the wantes of men, in preferring them to places of honour, in redeeming the offendor from the rigor of the Law, doe stirre affection: but these

vertues

fortune, if the common weale bee a partie in enioying them; win admiration. The actions which chieflie reueale them bare victories in the fielde beyonde expectation, surprisinges of Cities, erections of stately houses for common vses, graue and fortunate counsailing the State, discreete discharging of Embassages.

To the obteyning this opinion, must concurre two other helping causes, as specially remarkable in greate Fortunes: first Nobilitie, for if the auncestors were men of valour, and eminency in vertue, the vulgar sort (out of a true loue to men of desert) will preoccupie the same conceite of their issue. Secondlie conuersation, which if it be among men worthy, presentlie argueth a likenes in manners, to the people, which seeth nothing but apparances and maketh iudgement by that which is subiect to sight, thinking a man so qualified as those with whome he doth enfe-

lowship. But these reasons, although they are of great consequence, yet are doubtfull, and the expectation is weakelie grounded vpon opinion onelie, which presently chaungeth, except it bee established by some ouert action, which may bee worthie themselues both for difficultie of accomplishing and successfull end.

Those thinges which are done in youth (because this age is not onelie not enuied, but also fauoured) are of great moment in giuing life to the opinion of the worlde, and in nourishing such presumptions, as confirmed by some great and noble exploite, may suddenly growe into this actuall reputation. Therefore in *Rome* the young men of greatest hope did either preferre some lawe in behalfe of the people, or put lawbreakers in suite (a thing as *Plutarke* sayeth, pleasing the people as much as to see a notable course of a dogge at an heire) or which is more commendable, defended the innocency

of

of the oppreſſed againſt the iniuri-
ous intreaties of the powerable and
great ones, (as *Ciceroes* patronizing
of *Roſcius* at ſo vnripe yeares, and
with ſuch libertie of ſpeech againſt
the potency of proud *Sylla*, was the
firſt ſteppe to the poſſibility of his
greatnes,) Or did ſome thing which
might moue talke and become *Fa-
bula Vulgi* through the whole Cittie,
as *Manlius* his reſcue of his Father
from the Tribunes, or *Caſar* dealing
in compounding the ciuill diſſenti-
ons of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, by ſhew-
ing them, that their mutual depreſ-
ſions ſerued for nothing, but to in-
creaſe the authority of their enemi-
es, and arme a third with that credit,
which now remayned inuiolable in
themſelues: This action argued a
witte farre ouergoing the greenneſſe
of his age, and was the firſt mouer
of the peoples affectiō towards him:
for what is more honourable then
to treate in according two ſo noble
perſonages, which had liued ſo long
in ſeparation. But becauſe an opi-

nion thus obtained must bee fed by the like meanes, or else vanisheth as soone as it appeares to the worlde. This cõmendation must be accounted in no other measure, but as an incouragement to doe better, or as the aire, which maketh men grow vp in vertue, and quickneth the appetite to enterprise thinges of high deseruing prayse.

For preseruing Reputation is required Religion, and (that concurrance of deuine vertue) felicity: When the opiniõ of being religious is established, it seemeth that all other vertues must follow of necessitie, and by it all suspicions of any vitietie, or lacke of vertue are silenced. But here wee must auoide two rockes, superstition, and dissimulation: In the one is small wisedom, because these bug-beares, and Chimeraes of opinion, render a man vncapable of weightie matters, idle, contemptuous, vainely fearefull, simple and open to be practised vpõ by al deceitfulnes: In the other appeareth great craft

craft, and when zeale is put on, as a pretext to palliate wickednes, it bringeth such Nullifidians to bee odious, suspected and abhorred by the common consent of men: and therefore it is best to bee sociall in shew, but precise in effect: to keepe God sparinglie in our mouth, but aboundantly in our heart.

The workes which chiefly betoken a man religious are, to apprehende, to aduance the Ministerie, to prouide for those, who doe not in plausible formes preach themselues, but despising such a pompous and malepert manner breath grace and truth: to furnish them with sufficient liuings, because there is nothing which more impaireth the reuerence due to that profession, then needinesse.

Concerning felicitie, some men are borne vnder a propitious aspect of heauen, or rather fauoured with diuine grace, which guideth their actions vnder a continual protection of good lucke. These men

bringing their deſeignes to proſperous iſſues, are thoughte of a iudgement and valour equall for the accompliſhment of the like, and as the Comedient ſayeth,

– Exinde eos ſapere omnes dicimus,

While not conſidering the weakenes and imperfections of their counſels, wee make iudgement by the euent.

The chiefe Rules to maintain Reputation are theſe: To haue more deedes then wordes, rather doing thinges worthy to bee ſpoken, then ſpeaking thinges worthy to bee done; To auoide wordes of vaunting or brauerie, and in relations to bee reſerued in ſelfe commendations: for fame by ſuppreſſing is augmented, and prayſe in this reſembleth a quaint Dame, which followeth thoſe that deſpiſe her, and flyeth thoſe that follow her: To acknowledge no dependencie, for that is to confeſſe vncapablenes and defectes; To bee vniforme in life and

nd actions, constantly maintaining
vorde and promise: To atte npte
hinges within power and feasible:
For easilie to giue ouer enterpises,
mplieth eyther small iud ement in
ssaying, or a little min le in not
rosequuting: To neglect sma lac-
ions after the accomplishment of
reat: for to a Personag of valour
here is not a more neces arv thing,
hen to know the height of his great
esse. *Marius* in not contenting
imselfe with the reputation gotten
n the *Cimbrian* warre diminished it
y entring into other actions: Not
o bee discountenanced in missing
ny place, or office: for sometime,
uch failing in sutes augmenteth this
steeme: Wee may reade of *Lamias*
n *Tacitus* a Senator of birth & quali
y, whosuing to be gouernor of *Syria*
vas repelled: *At non promissa prouin-
ia dignationem addiderat.* The cause
vas, because the people which is a
beholder of the Princes actions, ma-
keth ouerbolde interpretations of
hem, and ambitiouslie comparing

men of merite, when they finde desert vnacknowledged, presently with presumptuous rashnes conclude the defect in the Prince, and by making it the subiect of their conference, increase his esteem that was disappointed: for this reason *Cato* said, that he had rather that the people shoulde enquire why hee had no statue erected to his memory, then why hee had. And againe, I obserue that at the solemnising of *Iunias* funeralles among the images of twentie noble houses, were left out that of *Cassius*, her husband and *Brutus* her brother, to the intent to extinguish their memory: but yet they did shine aboue all the rest for this onely, because their images were not represented.

Moreouer, thinges must bee intrusted to men responsall and sufficient: To vse base and vnable men for instrumentes in executions of weight, doth empaire their credite. No office must bee vndertaken with anie extraordinary opinion: For

the not answering such conceites, (men desiring thinges impossible) doth in time breede infamie.

This Reputation once obtayned, worketh a louing feare in the people, (loue stirring their affection, & feare mingling it with authoritie) Loue is the most forcible of all our passions, and as the principal giueth vigor and motion to the rest: but it is a thing doubtfull and deceaueable, in respect of the imperfection of men: for no mam can demeane himselfe with such circumspection, that hee can satisfie and please all, because mens mindes are by nature insatiable, vpon euery accident changing opinion, inconstant, murmuring for trifling regards, alway disliking the present, and preferring thinges of expectation and hope, before certainety and quietnesse, insomuch that one fauour, if it bee not equallie giuen to all, but in any greater proportion measured to one particular, cleane cancelleth the memo-

ry of forepaſſed good turnes: Such is the nature of man, that late benefites are cleane loſt if there bee not an hope to receiue more, and although the obligations bee neuer ſo great, yet one thing denied doth ſolly poſſeſſe the memory, and all our fauors are drowned in forgetfulnes. Feare is a more certain ground, then loue for maintaining authoritie, becauſe loue is in the power of the louer, feare in him, that maketh himſelfe feared: But yet feare procureth hatred, which although it bee diſſembled ſo long as it is vnable to ſhake off obedience, yet when a greater force ſhall vntie that knotte, it will burſt out into open conteſting.

Now becauſe men eaſie bring themſelues into contempt, men terrible and auſtere incurre hatred, there is another middle qualitie, which I may eyther call a louing feare, or a reuerencing loue following Reputation. This is a conſer-

ue,

uer of that obedience and authority, in which men of greate qualitie ought to retaine the multitude: for as the Elementes which otherwiſe ſtand at defiance, are by the heauenly Spheares conformed into wel ruled motions without violence or enforcement, onely obeyeing the noblenes of their nature: ſo men ſhew themſelues willing to bee directed by thoſe, who preceade, and are enobled by an eminency of vertue.

Of

Essay. 16.

Of Liberality.

Some receiue and entertaine fauorites with kind gestures onely, vnmeasurable in promises, but spare in ministring to their wantes, whome I may fitly compare to some fruites, which by a lushious smell, & delightfull colour inuite a man to eate, but proue vnsauory & distastfull. They that are the dispensers of Gods temporall graces must apply themselues to find out men of an honest and exemplarie life & to acknowledge their desert, *Vt non sit tantum ex conscientia merces.* They are

are the ſecond cauſes, which by giuing life and entertainement to vertue, muſt ſo diſpoſe and prepare mé of honeſt demeanure, as they may bee fitte to receiue any forme of honour or place, which (the firſt mouer of the commó weale) the prince ſhall beſtow vpon them: It is a faire title to bee the foſterer of deſert, and the countenance of thoſe, who through modeſty are readie to retire from reuealing themſelues in doing their countrie good.

The rewardes of goodnes, or vice frame mé accordingly: few are of ſo iudiciall a wit, as they meaſure vertue for the inner peace and contentment, and not according to ſucceſſe: others ſeeing the guerdon due to merit, abuſed in maintaining wickednes, thinke to obtaine by the ſame meanes, and faſhion themſelues accordinglie, and when euill men receiue fauour and place (beſides the iniurie done to vertue) *Haud facile quiſquam gratuito bonus eſt*: Liberalitie

ftie thus employed in fauouring good wittes, in nouriſhing artes, in quickning thoſe lifefull ſeedes of goodneſſe, in inuiting men to ſurpas themſelues, is the only vertue, which ouercommeth enuie, and breedeth regarde euen in our enemies: for men learned once endeared by anie obligation, as the heades and ouerrulers of the common opinion of the worlde, binde all other men to reuerence their patron, and by ſweete commemoration of receiued benefites winne them to patterne themſelues to their courſes, as the onelie hopefull ends to riſe by.

This vertue muſt be naturall & amongſt thoſe thinges which cannot bee imputed to election, and exerciſed with delight to doe good: when it is encouraged by a grateful return of hoped gaine, it is nothing but a baſe kind of counterchange & marchandizing: It reſembleth the diuine nature, which communicateth to all, and expecteth no future aduanta-

uantages: and although the vſe of this vertue is ſweete, when a man findeth the returne of thankfulneſſe, yet *Liberalitatem clariorem ingratus debitor facit:* it is more noble when it findeth the repayment of ingratitude: Diſcretion muſt gouerne this vertue, otherwiſe the graces which are virgins will turne whores: Followers ought to bee countenanced both in their owne ſutes, and alſo in the requeſtes of their familiars: for as apparrell at firſt colde, receiuing heate from vs, conſerueth our bodies with the heate, wee haue giuen it, ſo the Miniſters or attendantes of a greate ſtate, being aduanced by their patron, increaſe his reputation and power ablenes: But they muſt not bee ouer importune, or vrge oftner then is conuenient: For ſo they become like the Iuie, which by an ouer hard embracing hindereth the growing of the oake. It is good alſo to bee reſerued in giuing to thoſe,

who

who quicksighted in spying secret dislikes, will make vse of such occasions, and by multiplying suspitions, winde themselues into fauour, by working a more worthier into disgrace: These men know no other habites but auarice, selfeseeking contempt of others, and an high esteeme of their own vnworthinesse. It is a difficult thing to sound their hollow dispositions, and cauterized consciences, but the best notes to know them by are these. They haue no conformitie with themselues, now commending, anone discommending the same thing, taking or putting of a person, as the time or place shall require: they neuer stand well affected with men of their own rancke or societie, but if they loue any, they must be Great men, It is an infallible signe of a crooked nature, (as *Cicero* sayeth,) to seeme affected to none but to Prætors.

FINIS.